

THE GOSPEL OF FREEDOM

EXTENDED BY THE ORGANIZATION OF EMIGRATION.

An Essay on the Scriptural and Political Remedy for the North in the present Crisis on Slavery.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

NOTE.—In the autumn of 1854, Mr. Thomas Boardman, minister at Fall River, offered a prize of \$100 for an essay on the "Scriptural and Political Remedy for the North in the present crisis on Slavery." Several essays having been offered in competition, which met the approbation of the committee of award, but were of greater length than that prescribed, while none within that length were considered worthy of the prize, Mr. Boardman extended the period for competition, and removed the original restriction on the length of the essays.

The following paper was then submitted by the author.

The decision of the committee was made on the 21st of February, in the following words:—

AWARD.—The undersigned, appointed to award the premium of One Hundred Dollars offered by Mr. THOMAS BOARDMAN, for the best Tract upon "the Scriptural and Political Remedy for the North in the present crisis on Slavery," have found no inconsiderable difficulty in forming a decision satisfactory to themselves and accordant with justice to the several competitors. They found in their hands three essays especially, of marked ability and merit, each eminently calculated, in the Committee's opinion, to promote the object in view, while, in addition, they all upon the ground taken by the others—three different views of the subject, adapted to different classes of mind, and calculated to hold upon the reader's attention, and to the same general result. Between these three essays the Committee found it difficult to choose. They made known their dilemma to the officers of the premium, and were has consented to add another hundred dollars to the reward, and authorized us to divide the \$200 equally between the three successful competitors. Our decision, therefore, agreeably to this arrangement is, that the Tracts signed "Justice," "Moses," and "P. L." are entitled to the proposed premium; and that the \$200 be equally divided between the authors of the three essays.

The Committee wish further to state, that several other essays which have been submitted to their inspection, contain arguments and considerations of great importance, and might do good service to the cause, by being given to the public either through the press, or in the form of lectures to popular audiences.

FALL RIVER, Feb. 21st, 1855.
A. BRONSON,
E. B. BRADFORD.

One of these essays was the following paper:—

THE SCRIPTURAL AND POLITICAL REMEDY FOR THE NORTH IN THE PRESENT CRISIS ON SLAVERY.

This is an Essay to inquire into the most rapid means of removing American slavery.

Those means will be indicated by the Providence of God; as it has explained itself in Scripture and History, and as it works around us in the history of today.

For every creature required for the advance of the Kingdom of Christ, man is to be a "laborer together with God." (1) On the one hand, God does not save a passive world from its crimes and sins, where man does not rouse himself to "subdue the world." (2) as he was directed in the beginning. On the other hand, in "subduing the world," man is to labor under God's direction. His efforts are powerless unless he has the "Unseen Lord build the house, the builders labor in vain." (3)

The object proposed is the removal of American slavery.

This is, in other words, the extension of the Christian gospel over a region where it has not yet sufficient power.

I. How is the gospel to be thus extended? The answer is, in the direction of Jesus Christ himself, where he bids his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." (4) He did not contemplate a system of inaction. He did not rely on that gradual expansion which would come about, as men should travel, one by one, from a distance to Jerusalem, to inquire about the new light. Nor did he rely upon the

slow creation in Judea of such a public opinion regarding the heathenism of Greece and Rome and Gaul and Spain, that Greece and Rome and Gaul and Spain should be shamed by it into the abandonment of their heathenism, and turning to the Living God. The system of distant operation for gospel extension is a modern system. The reliance on "the public opinion of the world" is a human reliance. The Jew says that sinful men are influenced much more by the public opinion around them, than by the public opinion of men at a distance. He meant that his disciples should act directly,—not indirectly—on those whom they would save. And so he bade them all go out into *all the world*, and preach the gospel to every creature. All are to receive. All the world is to be visited. And all who love him are to go—somewhere.

The direction has been illustrated in the history of the Church. Its extension in the rapid progress of the first centuries was won, not by the modern means alluded to, but by the zealous men who swarmed into foreign and even barbarous regions and carried the cross with them. Gaul was won to the cross in Gaul, Spain in Spain, Britain in Britain. Men were saved in their own homes: not as the result of distant instruction, diplomacy or battle. The church showed itself aggressive. In fact it "has no defensive weapons." (5) It carried the gospel to the lands which knew it not, and it saved them on their own soil.

The victories of the cross stopped when this system stopped. Its greatest triumphs, since, have been achieved when this system was renewed. Of the later centuries the greatest Christian triumph has been the extension of the gospel, in more or less purity, over America. How was this gained? Not by the men who staid at home, but by the men who came here from Europe. They came with the gospel and won the gospel's battle on the land where it was to be established. The movement of the Puritans to New England, of the Huguenots to South Carolina, was a fulfillment of the direction to the brethren that they should all go out, if need were, into all the world. It is.

It is but a very short-sighted reading of this direction in which the church is satisfied, if it sends out one or two laborers from ten thousand who stay at home. (One or two may not be lost in the multitude. Moses led all the people of Israel up to Canaan when all were needed there. All the fock of John Robinson came to Plymouth when all were needed here. And the Providence of God is to be studied in every instance where the gospel is to be extended, to see if He needs one missionary, or ten or a hundred, or perhaps a thousand or ten thousand, of his people to go into any region which needs his word—so to carry thither the gospel for the blessing of every creature.)

II. Thus we are led directly to the inquiry:—"Where does God wish us to go, and in what numbers he need us, that we may bring the Gospel to bear upon American Slavery?" The number of slaveholders, variously estimated, from 150,000 to 300,000 men, hold in bondage about 3,000,000 slaves. The States inhabited by them cover a division of the American Union larger than the other in territory, but smaller in population.

Now, wholly apart from men's intentional efforts to restrict slavery, God works, that with every increase of the disproportion in wealth and population between the slave and free States increases. The

slave States are comparatively weaker and poorer every year. If we can find the cause of this increasing disproportion, we can find the way in which we can go to work as "laborers together with God."

The amount of this disproportion, and of its gradual increase, appears in the following figures:—
In 1820 the States now known as the free States had, 6,182,372 inhabitants
The slave States had, 5,485,750
In 1850 the free States had, 13,435,020
" " " " " 9,664,602

The two sections, nearly equal in 1820, are in 1850 almost as 3 to 2.

The cause of this change of proportion is readily ascertained. During these same years, by a wonder full Providence, to which human wit did not, with this aim, contribute at all, God was bringing into the free States a great pilgrimage of free men and women, such as He is never known to have led from land to land before. In the great movement of his children from Egypt to the neighboring land of Palestine. He led in 40 years three millions of his people. in the later manifestation of His power, so great and so still, He has so ordered the political changes of Europe, the course of ocean-commerce and the necessities of Labor and Manufacture in America, that He has led, in twenty years, more than three millions of his children, over an ocean-path of 3000 miles, (6) and has placed them in a land where they might serve his purposes, and though they were free from ignorant superstitions and blind—(so were the people whom Moses led)—may still unconsciously advance His will. These people came to labor. Of course they came to those States where labor is honorable and not a shame. And, because they came, the States where they came gain upon the slave States, in the proportion which has been indicated; and, gaining in population which is a laboring population, they gain in wealth as well.

By such means, without any human effort, prompted by this special purpose, has God enlarged the numbers and wealth of the States whose institutions support human freedom.

What indication does this give as to the best method of carrying human freedom further? I. It shows that He is most fully satisfied to leave the triumph of freedom to the gradual extension of ideas, or to what is called the "Public opinion of the World." He does not trust this more than he did at the outset of the Gospel.

He has, rather, reinforced the free States by a preponderance of wealth and population, which in any balance of power, sets them far beyond the slave States. Although those whom He has removed from land to land land themselves no such intention, though they were often weak and ignorant, He who works His will by means of human weakness, makes their movement contribute to His great designs.

2. It shows that if He needs it, whole nations can move even from continent to continent. And therefore

3. It bids us inquire, whether that system of Providence which has given such increase of strength to freedom may not go still farther. If the emigration of the weak, ignorant and superstitious have added thus to the political might of the northern States, what may not the emigration, in the right direction, of Christian men and women do. And if a nation can move from continent to continent, to fulfill unconsciously a great design of God, is it not possible for men, working with God, to transport from place to place of our own America such bodies

of his children as shall carry the Gospel, establish freedom, and work out the wonderful designs of his will?

III. In the study of these questions we find, that there already exists, as a remarkable characteristic of the American people, a desire to move from the places of their birth, and to redeem to civilization whatever wilderness may open before them. It is not fair to speak of this merely as a love of adventure. It is not, again, simply weariness of old habits. These furnish a share of motive, but there are not all. It is no whim, no fancy, no mere passion. It is rather a principle, deeply seated in the American heart. The American people has been taught something of religious history. And it remembers, that whenever God has wished to put the race upon the pathway for his very greatest victories, He has done it by an *Emigration*. It remembers how he called Abram to emigrate from Ur, and again from Haran, into the Land of Promise. It remembers how He established His own peculiar people, by means of an Emigration. So also in political history: the American people remembers that by a sudden emigration and a Norman emigration, the nation was created in which constitutional liberty first found a home. And in all its own history, religious or political, it learns that God gave to its choicest blessings in Church and State, in directing, as He did, the emigration of its forefathers.

With such memories wrought into all the training of its youth, and furnishing the grand work of all its institutions, the American people loves the enterprise of the pioneer. Its sons move forward constantly. It is not fair to say that they are weary of home. We ought rather to say, that there is a principle, born in their national life, which bids them subdue the wilderness while there is a wilderness to subdue.

In obedience to this longing, and as the result of a series of other causes springing providentially from the movements of commerce and the arts, there is a regular westward march of the American people, unheeded and all engrossing as a tide of the ocean.

The great philosopher De Tocqueville calculated the rapidity of this tide, and stated it as seventeen miles a year. Now, probably, it moves still faster than then. It is a movement which does not chiefly consist of the foreign emigration. Comparatively few of the foreign emigrants attempt frontier life. The best pioneers are the Americans born, of those States which are not unused to hardship.

Difficult to estimate in numbers as this movement is, there can be no doubt that, at the end of every year, three hundred thousand persons live farther west than they did at the beginning of the same year. Nor is this movement made up of the changes for mere convenience; like the removal of men from Fall River to Holyoke; from Holyoke to Troy, when change of employment offers. Such removals would be, in great measure counterbalanced by similar removals eastward. It is, rather, a hardy, adventurous journey. The examination of the statistics show that of the three hundred thousand who now move westward every year, nearly one by half have crossed the frontier line of States and Territories: to the very edge of civilization. In the ten years between 1840 and 1850, the States or Territories which formed successively the outer edge of our system were Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas; and, later, Iowa, Wisconsin, Texas, Minnesota, Utah, Oregon, and California. In those ten years about one million one hundred thousand persons emigrated into those States and Territories.

If then, we should wish to follow the great lesson which Providence teaches us, by its arrangements for enlarging the population and power of the free States, we have already existing an immense tide-wave of western emigration. This is an agent not to be resisted. Will it prove to work in such ways as may favor our great aim?

What its tendency is, will appear from the figures from which the statements now made have been computed.

Of these frontier States and Territories, the population in 1840 and 1850, the natural increase by estimate, (7) and the increase from emigration as cal-

culated by a parallel estimate, are shown in the following table:—

FREE.	Pop. 1840.	Nat. Incr.	Incr. by Emigr.	Pop. 1850
Illinois.....	476,000	110,000	286,000	851,000
Iowa.....	10,750	1,000	188,250	200,000
Wisconsin.....	30,000	7,500	267,500	305,000
Minnesota.....	.....	.....	6,000	6,000
Utah.....	.....	.....	11,000	11,000
Oregon.....	.....	.....	13,000	13,000
California.....	6,000	1,500	84,000	92,000
	555,000	138,750	776,250	1,470,000
SLAVE.				
Texas.....	125,000	31,250	55,750	212,000
Arkansas.....	40,000	10,000	197,500	247,500
Missouri.....	385,000	95,750	203,250	684,000
	605,000	151,250	346,750	1,103,000
	1,160,000	290,000	1,223,000	2,573,000

In view of the enlargement of population and consequently of emigration, the annual emigration into frontier States and Territories may be now estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand.

As to the tendency of this emigration, it appears from the statistics, that the great preponderance of emigration into frontier States is into those whose institutions are free. The States and Territories named belong to both divisions of the Union, free and slave. The division between the two classes in 1840 was nearly even; the slave part, having, however, about ten per cent. the larger population of the two. But the emigration in ten years into the free part was more than two to one that into the slave region; being 776,250 against 346,750. So that in 1850 the free section had passed the slave section completely in its population, and with less natural increase, numbered 1,440,000 to 1,123,000 who were in the three slave States named.

The cause of this gain and preponderance is evident. Men who emigrate are men who must labor. They go to places therefore where labor is honorable. They avoid regions, as has been already said, where it is a disgrace. In the districts named in the table above, there is no region, besides California, so attractive to the settler for soil and climate both as Upper Texas, or Southern Missouri. Yet the increase by emigration in these States is small indeed compared with the rapid growth of Iowa, of Wisconsin, and of Minnesota; in colder climates and with no more promising soil. The great Western tide-wave turns away from nothing else. But it does shrink from lands where labor is a shame. It pours on, without check, into the free land of Minnesota, though the climate is colder than New England's. It does not fear winter. Nor does it fear solitude. Nor does it fear the savage. But from the institutions which disgrace industry it recoils and turns away. They drink of a smaller eddy. And it pours its richest treasures over other soils.

If now, those one hundred and thirty thousand persons, who annually seek the frontier for their home, settled all together until they had formed a State, and then formed new States successively, as fast as their population permitted, a new State might be formed, at the rate of the present emigration, at the end of every period of eight months and five days.

If these States formed their own institutions by popular vote, they would be free States. For the proportion of emigrants who favor free institutions is to those who settle in slave States as 776 is to 346, or more than two to one. Many indeed of the 346 are slaves who have no vote at all.

It is, however, impossible to consider the emigration as an organized mass, as one may speak of the emigration of the Israelites from Egypt. Men and families move forward separately. But from the institutions that a father associates together and go into the same region. The West fills up with people who did not know each other before they arrived at their new homes.

It is a consequence of this separation, and of their diversity of motive, that if there be any doubt as to the institutions of a State or Territory, emigrants who wish to remain in a free State will not trust themselves, singly and unsupported, to the chances of its organization. No single man or single family will venture alone into an uncertain region. While the emigration is unorganized, the whole, however large in numbers, obeys the law which single men

or single families follow. These are the units which make up its thousands. If then the fortunes of the new States be left to the simple law of "letting alone that which is," the great tide of unorganized emigration will pour into north-western States. Emigrants will not trust themselves alone upon doubtful land. The lesser wave, of men fond of southern institutions, will pass in now slowly into the other States. Fast-growing free States, slow growing slave States will make up the new States of this Union, if we leave that which is to take care of itself, without organization or effort of our own.

IV. These considerations of detail have been necessary to our subject, because under such a Constitution as ours, the first necessity in the home battles of the Gospel, is that the future be on the right side. New States are to come into this Union with powers similar to those of the present States.

In the extension of the Gospel then for the conquest of slavery, our first care is for all these new States, that they may be established on such principles that they shall be forever free.

In other words, we must not trust to the let-alone policy which secures us but half of them.

The statistics given, and our knowledge of the human heart and character show that to secure them all to freedom, we need a concentration of effort, distinctly intended for that aim. In other words:—"Man must work together with God." God has set in order the great tide of emigration West, so abundant that it could cover the fourteen States in ten years, if it were exactly divided. Man's duty is to divide it with that purpose, as far as he can. That is, he must give such information, direction, encouragement, organization and capital to this emigration, that its weight shall tell regularly and solidly in the scale of freedom; and that it shall not be lost by being scattered or divided against itself.

This may be done:

1. By careful and humane arrangements for all who travel to the western frontiers, that they may not be exposed to the fever, the sickness, the untakes which now make the journey of the poorer emigrant, really, a pilgrimage of dread. The frauds on emigrants, as the unorganized emigration is now conducted, are such, that the men, who carry them on, have established even a language of their own to describe their various pecculations. The ravages of cholera in the western cities, during the last summer, began, in almost every instance, among the poor emigrants who had been stowed too closely in the cattle cars or freight cars in which they had been hurried along. To labor with God, in the use of the western emigration for the service of Christ and freedom, the Christian Church, the men who act under its banner, must arrange such a system of movement westward that the path may be easy and not hard, and that the poorest may find his way to the lands which want no wealth but men.

2. The immense power for freedom which God thus puts into our hands must be concentrated and not scattered. The work of making the westward movement easy and safe, and of preparing the men for work, of directing and concentrating its march, must be done by men, who are willing to go into other lands with the Gospel they profess. They must work with it, as well as talk with it. It is not enough to send one missionary into a newly gathered State, with a message of love, to preach the duty of brotherhood. It is not enough to send ten, it is not enough to send a hundred. It is necessary that a thousand, or ten thousand, who know what freedom is, and life and the power of the Gospel, unite themselves as a Church. The Church does not do its duty unless it sends forth its missionaries in such numbers not as preachers only, but as pioneers of the pilgrim stamp, men who can chop and build, and reap and sow, and vote as well, to the glory of God, and a fulfillment of His will. The men, who love freedom and free institutions, are false to their million professions and resolutions, if they do not, in some way, organize their numbers for such a concentration of effort,—and work, not at a distance, but on the spot which is to be saved; not for a public opinion far off, but for the only public opinion which has power, namely, the public opinion which is at hand.

From the hundred and thirty thousand who, in

each year, move into the western wilderness, there should be no difficulty in uniting five or six thousand men and women of high principle, who will select their new home, and go together, avow their views and wait there for aid. Around such a centre, if the way be made easy for all, will cluster the separate bands who are pouring to the frontier from every northern State, eager pioneers, anxious to try the experiments of a new land, with warm hearts, and with right impulses, ready to sustain true principles, if men of principle have led the way. Let ten thousand men once establish themselves, united, in any new territory of the West or South-West, and five times their number will at once gather round them to profit by their strength, wisdom, courage and wealth. The roads they build, the mills they set in motion, the schools they teach, the churches they establish, are all so many inducements to others to swell their numbers, or to settle near their homes. Such has already been the experience of Kansas. The town of Lawrence was established by settlers from New England and New York. But it finds already, that the disappointed of other parties, and that lonely adventurers looking only for the best they can find, are glad to come in to take the advantages which its founders have arranged. Probably not more than fifteen hundred settlers have gone into Kansas from New England and New York. But now they there, the West and North-West pours in to reinforce them. Yet, before their organization was made, scarcely one man from northern ground ventured to move into that territory.

8. Those who stay at home have a method of helping in this gospel work, equal in responsibility and influence to that of those who go.

Emigration will go to the points where is least difficulty and suffering. Now the only suffering of pioneer life results from the want of capital in new regions. Capital only can build mills, houses, bridges, school-houses and churches. Capital only makes the difference between the comforts of the man who lives in Bristol county, and his brother who lives on the Wallamette in Oregon. The latter has a more genial climate, a richer soil than the other. But the other has the comforts around him which the investment of capital has created.

Men of principle then, who do not go from home with the Gospel of Freedom, may help those who go, by assisting in those enterprises in which the West needs capital. They need not send forward one man, too poor to go without help. There are enough independent men on the way. But they may invest in mills, in bridges, in railroads and other undertakings at the West, those means for which they seek returns; they may invest in churches and school-houses the money which they can lend to the Lord, and thus they help also. Around those institutions men and women gather. It seems as if they sprung up from the ground, as the sons of Israel, under the leadership of their fathers, best they can train their children and secure comforts for their homes.

Go thus into the regions of the West to preach the Gospel which gives liberty to the captive, or if you stay, work thus to help those who go. Make easy their way thither. Or sending your capital with them, help to build their roads, their mills, their school-houses their churches. Go thus, work thus, or send thus, with reasonable alacrity and zeal. There is no need of preaching a new crusade. The crusade is in movement already. It wants only direction, concentration, that its forces may not be divided against themselves. If not divided they are sure to stand and to prevail.

V. It is hard to make a prophecy in this matter which shall not seem extravagant to those who are used to put their mouths in the dust, to cry "Vile! Vile!" while they put their hands to nothing at all. But the Christian Church, the whole body of Christ's life, cannot in one year, unite upon one point in the West, ten thousand men, women, and children, of right feeling and heart, from among the hundred and thirty thousand who go there, the Christian Church

cannot do anything at all. Let it do this, and, in a twelve month after, fifty thousand volunteers will have followed in their train.

For calculation, let us suppose these round numbers to be the numbers influenced by such an effort. Sum up now the result of that effort only.

In 1856 Kansas would have 60,000 inhabitants and its fundamental laws be so arranged by its inhabitants that it should be forever free.

In 1857, Western Texas, which has now 80,000 inhabitants, would have 120,000; and could claim admittance as a State forever free. In 1858, the country of the Upper Red River might receive as many inhabitants, and take the preliminary steps for the formation of a State forever free. (3.) And thus, with every successive year a new state could be made, by the subdivision of Texas, of Kansas, in the Indian territories; of the "parks" of the Rocky Mountains, in the immense territory of Nebraska, in the subdivision of Minnesota, and these States would be forever Free.

With the frontier thus secured, it would be wholly in the power of the Christians of the land to send the pioneer colonies into States already formed. A body of 10,000 intelligent men, women, and children, by the aid of the machinery of capital invested in machinery, would nowhere be turned away, or treated coldly. In Texas, in Louisiana, in Arkansas, in Missouri, in Mississippi; even in Tennessee, in Kentucky, in Virginia; or in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Florida are large regions of land, waiting for just such emigrants to go out into them with that Gospel, which is to be preached to every creature. The institution of slavery is already established in those States. Such emigrants would in time put an end to it. And thus, the days of prophecy for over eighteen centuries ago. Not by arms; the days of arms are over. Not by anger; anger never accomplished anything. Not by fraud, nor by hate, but as all evil is to be overcome. They would overcome evil with good.

They would take up a large body of land and introduce the highest civilization. They would not waste their physical strength; they would compel the elements to do their work for them, the soil of the mountains to make the steam which should drive their saw mills or their plating machines; which should spin their cotton, or weave their wool. They would not send a thousand miles for their hoes and plough-shares. They would forge them from the iron of the same hills. They would not depend on a literature imported from New York or England. They would make their own paper from their own cotton;—their own type in their own moulds, and their own books from the work of their own brains. They would not send their sons to Connecticut, or to Paris, or to Germany to College. They would build up their own Universities beneath the shade of their own Magnolias. They would thus extend freedom, by displaying the institutions of freedom side by side with that institution of the Past, which is only possible while men live in the simplest duties of agricultural life. They would use the waters which now run to waste. And those waters would preach freedom. They would coin ones which now lie dead. And those stones would speak freedom.

Such colonies also would grow. And, in the end, they would conquer. In no one of these states are there 30,000 slave-holders. How soon would they be outnumbered by the swarms from that northern hive of free labor, which can spare even to the wilderness its hundreds of thousands every year. Without fraud, anger, arms, or empty talk, freedom would win the triumph that it always wins. It would overcome evil with good.

For it could not be forgotten, for an instant, that every indication of the times shows the Lord working on its side, in this master-work of the organization of emigration. Inventions, machines, internal improvements, which human wit wrought out, without one thought of freedom, work for it in His hand. But the institution of slavery is what it was in the

beginning, and has no new allies. One brave man in Massachusetts, in earnest and awake, can summon, in a week's time, by the press, by the living voice, by his private correspondence, an emigrant party of a hundred, who can, in a week more, move to Kansas, with their tools in their hands, and with the money in their pockets which came from the ready sale of their property in their old homes. For merchants and mechanics are at home the world over. What if, on the other hand, an energetic, elivorous man in Carolina, strive to rally a hundred men with their servants, at the same time, to meet the northern adventurers in this friendly controversy on Kansas soil. A planter does not transplant himself so easily. There are plantations, not workshops, to be sold, and hardly a town in which to sell, or a newspaper in which to advertise. There are field hands who are to be got ready for travel: not wives and children only, who prepare themselves, and make the preparation for husbands and fathers. And the journey is to be made, not on the wings of the wind, but with slow care for travellers who can escape, but cannot order their own journey. The emancipation in Kansas is to be made, not beneath a tent, or the open sky, but with all that cumbersome machinery, which patriarchs must move withal. The flying artillery of the north settles the contest before such heavy-armed adversaries are on the ground. And why? Why? but because these forty years, a God whose hand we did not see has been giving voice to the trumpets of a northern press, has been bridging every Jordan of the west, and building the roads through the wilderness, over which these northern adventurers move westward—led indeed by a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day; so that, without one Sabbath on the road, they praise Him from their new found home when the first day of the week comes round. But, when their southern rivals move, the same God has ordered that their chariots move slowly, and they drive heavily, and they do not come to the Promised Land, till the war has passed over it, which consecrates it to freedom forever.

Let the North set its hand to **such work as this**. It accomplishes every necessary condition. For it is an enterprise which may begin even with humble means, but which gains strength as it rolls on.

It begins with the formation of new States. But it will so succeed there that old States will be glad to seduce such effort to their shores. Even Virginia would welcome, to her unequalled water power, fifty thousand skillful men, though all of them were descended from the men of the May Flower.

It is "going out" into the world with the Gospel:—not sending it, while we stay at home.

It follows the leading of Providence. It were impossible unless God had marked the way.

It uses an immense power, created by God for this aim, which now is dissipated, and, in a measure, lost.

It is rapid, peaceful, and sure.

It cooperates with the course of commerce, industry, science and enterprise.

It puts an end to the mere talk about the giant evil of the land; and gives every man a place where his action may begin.

Let the North fairly rouse itself to such a work, and before its strength is half enlisted, the Land is Free.

(1.) 1 Cor. 9, 8.

(2.) Gen. 1, 28.

(3.) Ps. 127, 1.

(4.) Mark xvi, 15.

(5.) The Word, at his son's orination.

(6.) From 1830 to 1854, 8,426,927 emigrants landed in America.

(7.) The natural increase, or increase by birth, is counted as 20 per cent. of those living in these States in 1840.

(8.) By the ratio which holds (til 1861, 93,423 is the number requisite for one Representative in Congress, and therefore the number required for a State.

(9.) By the provisions of the Joint Resolutions for the annexation of Texas five States may be made from her Territory.